Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
● [833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

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1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscripts belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;
[589] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should
[581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse
581 only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For
833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those
[156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

833 /173 cont./ The characteristics of being not good, if the not wanting emanates from the woman, are the same as when the man is the one who /174/ refuses sexual intercourse. The two women whom I was able to observe, however, lead me to suggest that the reason for their refusal is the idea that they regard themselves as too good for their husbands.

The Makassarese attitude with respect to these phenomena is different.

585 An informant named the "tete" as, in his opinion, one of the most important aspects of the wedding feast. Tete literally means "bridge." The bringing together of man and wife is regarded as a period of temporary uncertainty, and it is hoped that from this a state of lasting security will arise. Ritual is performed because it is believed that it promotes the coveted cessation of insecurity. There is always a positive [824] and a negative aspect present. This finds expression, among other things, in the names of leaves and wood types used in the ritual. Some of these have the meaning of "becoming larger," "increasing," while others mean "fending off" and "holding back."

833 We have already mentioned that the environment accepts a kawe kawe as he is. One does not have the idea that it is his fault that he is the way he is. Similarly, it is accepted of a man or woman that he (she) does not want to be "good" with his (her) marriage partner.

833 It is believed possible that the one who refuses sexual 789 contact has been affected by a spell /sprenk/. But people can never say with certainty who it was that spoke it at best; it is only possible to suspect people of it. One proceeds from an interest that this person is believed to have in seeing the marriage fail, and one combines this with conduct observed in him or her of which it is stated that it deviates from the customary and therefore might have a special (in this case, bad) significance.

833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prospering of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger reactions, such as the meting out of punishment.

833 Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
832 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his (her) spouse, one does not simply rest satisfied with this situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every individual who performs it. These details need not be apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called "marrying anew" (nikka' poleang). This ritual was unknown in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative in clearly observable ritual matters is to be found here.

585 The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

[482 554]

2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

[178] The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585 ● 833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

585 /195 cont./ is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[156] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern, I La Galigo, p. 333.

The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes
581 place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women con-
593 ducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks,
521 and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaĕ nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in general use. Elsewhere, people denied knowledge of their existence. Nevertheless, a report of these questions and answers seems to be in place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great importance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen, suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman concerned are not related to each other, the older people establish contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?" And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
● 833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him "my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
●833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place. The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door, she is let out.

585 The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
833 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
626 previous marriages young married couples again and again submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride is told in such a case that all women have at one time undergone this experience, that her mother was also married in this way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?" (namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888 contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576] person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally, they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife together and to get them used to the fact that now other forms of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

582 /199 cont./ cohabitation, frequently with permanent physical
593 or psychic injuries for the rest of her remaining life. By child marriage, therefore, we understand here a marriage in which at least one of the two partners is not sexually mature. But then the conception of the matter given above is incorrect in two respects as regards South Celebes. In the first place, the bridegroom as well as the bride is not yet sexually mature in two of the four cases at my disposal. After the sealing of the marriage, the children did not live in the same house. They are supervised by the older people, and not until the girl has menstruated and the boy has begun to "crow" -- and this is sometimes the case only after several years, -- does ordinary cohabitation take place.

In the second place, even if the man is sexually mature and the girl is not, it is not necessary to be too fearful of the evil consequences of a child marriage. A man, after all,
[832] is /200/ taught that he must be tender and loving to his young wife, and that he must try to win her for himself gradually. Rough conduct in this respect on his part is disapproved even in an ordinary marriage.

582 It is clear that in child marriage in South Celebes the possibility of ill-treatment of the overly young girl is not excluded, nonetheless the possibilities for this are very limited. Child marriage has not been institutionalized here. It is contracted in cases where the older people have a stake in keeping the influence of the young individuals upon the choice of their marriage partners to a minimum.

However, in so doing, they still do not have the certainty that this marriage will also become "good." A girl
[833 593] who was not yet sexually mature at the contracting of her marriage to an adult man resisted him for a number of years after menstruation had already set in. This was accepted by the husband as well as by her kinsmen. This is a case of a married couple where one partner desires no sexual union, and thereby causes the marriage to fail. In a section concerning

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

593 After some time it appears that in a number of these marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to 833 say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two [586] wants to remarry, does divorce according /201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikang ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

833 /201 cont./ thus causes the entire purpose of the marriage to run awry. In such cases it is said of the man that he refuses sexual contact with his wife (tena naero' ri bainenna; literally, "he does not want his wife"); such a refusal may just as well emanate from the wife.

[584] Sometimes it is clear that someone does not desire contact with his spouse because he himself has made another choice and now still wants to force his kinsmen to permit him to marry her (1). In other cases a bride or bridegroom declares

[586]

1. In a case which took place in Macassar in which a young man refused sexual intercourse with his wife because he had his mind set upon another girl, the marriage was dissolved after more than three years. At that time his father consented to his disposing of his wife. Shortly

[587] thereafter he had to marry a second wife, just as little by his own choice as the first one. He led a normal married life with this second wife. She presented him with two children and died a few years afterwards. Only then did he marry the woman whom he had chosen eight years earlier.

that the appearance of the marriage partner does not please him (or her). But in still other cases, not a single reason can be detected.

Sometimes it is believed in such cases that the individual who refuses has been affected by a spell emanating from

833 /201 cont./ someone who does not want him to contract this marriage. Sometimes it is also believed that the ritual was not performed in the correct manner. Even where a man specifies his own choice and where the appearance of the other one /the spouse/ does not please him, it is believed possible to sway by means of spells and ritual the one who refuses sexual intercourse, so that the negative attitude will be abandoned. These attempts are continued for years after the contracting of the marriage. Favorable results of these attempts will be reported. Thus it appeared that shortly after such a ritual, carried out almost three years after marriage, a sudden reversal in the young woman's attitude became noticeable. Previously she had always withdrawn upon the arrival /202/ of her husband and had ignored him. Then all of a sudden she had thrown a bath sarong in his direction, and after this first sign of rapproachement, the relationship had soon become completely normal.

585 833 In order to join a couple that was not "good" together, the ex-Imam married them again. This is called "marrying again" (nikka' poleang). It is believed that in the original marriage ceremony a mistake was made, that is to say, that a formula was incorrectly recited or a ritual action neglected. As a result of this mistake, it is thought, the marriage had never been able to become completely successful, and a repetition of the marriage contract will be able to avoid this error. This marrying again which is sometimes called a "remedy" (paballe') is of no significance according to Moslem law. It is not recorded in the marriage registers. No further festivities take place upon this occasion. Even the sunrang is not paid again; only the nikka' is repeated (1). I was

1. The one who performed these wedding ceremonies was the ex-Imam of the adat community. Thus he is

585 /202 cont./ thought to be acquainted
833 with the formulas that
are correct in the Moslem
view. It is possible that
this is a local development.
Elsewhere in South Celebes
I did not hear of such marry-
ing again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

[602] If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings some-
626 thing for his wife which she can use in the household, as is
833 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her [761] bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor

593 626 833 [761] /203 cont./ 1. That is to say, then she will soon die.' For when a corpse is placed upon the bier made of bamboo, the bier creaks.

does he feel shame because she refuses him. Her kinsmen feel a little embarassed (siri' siri') because they brought about the marriage and therefore also bear responsibility for her refusal, so they are extremely friendly toward the young man.

586 [833] The belief that the performance of ritual can cause a man or wife to give up his (her) refusal to have sexual intercourse entails that one waits for a long time before officially dissolving the contracted marriage. This is usually done with the mutual consent of the older people. Only when the latter have given up hope, after at least a year has elapsed, that the marriage could still become "good," is one of the two spouses permitted to marry someone else. Only then is the divorce of the first marriage registered.

In the case of couples who have been living separately for a long period of time, people often do not exactly know whether the Moslem marriage dissolution has already taken place. Little interest is shown in this.

The unwillingness of a young man is thus accepted, even though people are not simply satisfied with this right away. But one does not accept his giving the talak /formal repudiation. -- Ed./. A case of a young man disposing of his wife against the wishes of his older kinsmen was unknown in Borongloë. Informants believed that he would disgrace his kin group by doing so.

593 833 Even though a couple is "good" together after the wedding festivities are over, this relationship may not be lasting in a number of cases. After a shorter or longer period of time, no more sexual relations take place in such a case. This

593 /203 cont./ phenomenon can likewise be caused by either
833 the wife or the husband. People frequently give some unimportant incident as the reason. One man stated that he no
586 longer wanted to have sexual relations with his wife because
593 she had become angry at him when the lombok /red pepper/
833 that he had brought for her splashed into her eye as she was grinding it. Since then, man and wife no longer lived together. The latter would, however, at times get what she
593 needed for her /204/ daily sustenance from his warong
586 /shop/. Now and then they would speak to each other, and sometimes she would ask him whether he would not come and look at their child. They did not quarrel, and no repudiation took place. When their child, who had stayed with the woman, was about to marry, she let her husband know, but he told her that he was leaving the consent and arrangement of the festivities to her. Neither of them remarried. This situation lasted until the death of the man.

In another case where a married couple had been living separated for years, the reason given was the fact that the wife wanted to continue living with her own kin group and did not want to go with the husband to his. "They live separated" (sisala pamantanganna), it is said in such cases.

A few figures may make the relationships here described a little clearer.

586 On July 1, 1948, the number of persons residing in
[162] kampong Bontoramba who were divorced according to Moslem law and had not remarried was three, two men and one woman. The latter had been married to one of these two men. The wife of the other man lived elsewhere.

In addition, the number of people living in separation
586 but not (yet) divorced according to the law, amounted to
593 six, five women and one man. The latter was married to
[162] one of the five women. The husbands of the other four women lived elsewhere. Two of these four women had been married through silariang and were later deserted by their husbands.

156 /242 cont./ Among the men who possess to a low degree
• 833 the qualities established as a norm for them, there are to be
838 found the "kawe kawe," the unmarried men, the married men who refuse to have sexual intercourse with their wives, and possibly the koro patients. It is impossible for me to indicate the boundary between a lack of the qualities demanded by the culture and a supposed lack.

156 Among the women who possess the qualities ascribed to
[548] them to a small degree, one finds the prostitutes and also matrons and bride's mothers, and those who perform the ancestral ritual, all of whom owe their standing to their work, which serves to raise the standing of the community. Among these there are also the princesses, who in these countries frequently played a dominant role. Among females in this
[562] position there is none of the docility left, which is expected in women.

/248/ Appendix

114 Figures drawn from registers constitute a welcome addition
127 to the data that could not have been obtained otherwise, or only with great difficulty through verbal information. However, in making use of register material, there is a danger that the degree of its reliability will not be sufficiently realized.

Data based on registers always make a precise impression. The collector is inclined to believe in their reliability himself. But the reliability can only be judged through an acquaintance with the culture in which they are used. A number of "mistakes" in the registers can be immediately understood as a result of ideas present in that culture. They raise the demand for care in the comparison of figures with other regions.

Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Buru OH8
Halmahera OH12
Makassar OG6

Bl 791 [565 cont.] ceremonies, make their will known to the people and are to be regarded as relics of the ancient Polynesian cult. Their name is walian. In addition, as a designation for shamans on Bali, there is also the word wewalen, which came from wewalian = walian with J [791] reduplication. The contraction of ia to e is very common in Javanese as well as in the related languages, for example, durian = duren.

Bl 791 756 The difference between walian and wewalen is that the former word has a more general meaning. They are the actual mediums, whereas the wewalen are more the co-workers who perform the functions of doctors and doctresses.

Bl 791 786 Besides the walian and wewalen, there are also the sangyang, who likewise are shamans. They are usually small boys or girls and, like the former, are [566] put in a state of ecstasy by artificial means, such as incense, music, and not infrequently arrack, in order to serve the gods as mediums. The name sangijang literally means "spirit, god," hence, the being that possesses. Only later was this name carried over for the person who is possessed. Another people should be mentioned here, namely, the Bisayans of the Philippines; among them, too, there are priestesses, balian, who apparently are shamans.

Bu H 791 Furthermore, shamanism plays an important role in the religion of the Alfoer of Buru and Halmahera.

MK 756 It is not only among the pagan tribes, however, that shamanism is found. It also occurs among the more highly developed peoples who have already embraced Islam. First, we name the Buginese and Makassarese. Among them there is a class of persons, men as well as women, who profess to be able to be possessed by spirits and are therefore consulted primarily as MK [838] doctors and doctresses. These shamans are called bissu. The bissu greatly resemble the basir among the Dajak; like the latter, they also dress as women. Dr. Matthes doubts very much, however, that they surrender themselves to pederasty like the basir. MK [833] To be sure, the male bissu maintain that they are incapable of

123 chosen to remain in office he then goes back to where he
609 came from. This evidently was quite something to them. I always added that this was neither better nor worse, but just a different way of doing things. I think I put the point across. I said that in the United States we had large houses and big buildings because the weather was so cold. But basically the principles were the same. I said that they used bamboo for struts and supports while we used steel. They used clay to work where we use cement. Then I brought up the point that they knew considerable about the United States as a result of having seen many moving pictures. On the other hand, we know nothing about Makassar.

272 At this point, without any pressing business, the Kepala kampong called for some coconut water. We had quite a time about the word coconut milk in English. Someone was told to strip a few coconuts and the coconut water was quite good, although I could see that it would spoil rapidly. It was served in glasses, though Rahim asked first if I preferred it from the
[833] nut directly. In Bontorio it is said that this coconut water causes impotence, but the men drank it.

563 The assistant showed me some silver filigree work. It
326 struck me as mediocre, but I said that it was fine. Later van
439 der Wetering, Secretary of the Centrum Cultureel Stichting [Cultural Foundation Center] in Makassar, said that it was poor and made for the tourist trade. They use a kind of tamarind acid to clean such silver work. It is actually quite banal. One fellow said that the Chinese brought the silver
435 from Hongkong and gave it to the smiths. Later they bought the finished article back and sold it. The fellow who was the constructor of the building said that there was much trouble nowadays. He needed a truck but could get one only by paying f.80 per day. But he could make only f.75 per day. When I commented: apa boleh buat [what can be done about it?] they laughed.

829 We talked about mobility and change from generation to generation. I said that in the United States a son seldom followed the trade of his father. Although this was not too clear they seemed to be surprised. They implied that if the father was a smith, his son would be one also.

609 After a hearty farewell, we went back to the Karaeng. He
156 was there, and there were still many people around. We went in and noted that the atmosphere was entirely different. He is a kind of United States business man in type. He is close mouthed and position-proud. Perhaps he was just embarrassed. However, I missed the give and take that was so